

WILSON PEACE WILL BE FOUGHT BY REPUBLICANS

G. O. P. Members of Congress to Insist on Allies as Dictators.

McADOO APPEALS AGAIN

Tumulty Quotes T. R. and Harrison in Justifying President's Action.

Special Dispatch to The Sun.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 27.—A peace through victory and not by negotiation.

A peace programme drawn up not by the President alone, but by the Allies with America routing out the peace programme to uphold their unanimous judgment as to terms.

This is the issue which, in the view of Republican leaders here, had more been squarely before the country through the statement issued to-day in New York by the Republican national chairman, Will Hays, and the statement issued on Friday by the Republicans in Congress.

Both sides are prepared to see in the ensuing week a bitter battle waged around the President's peace programme and his negotiations with Germany. The Republicans in Congress are convinced that the majority sentiment of the country is behind them in the position they have taken with respect to this overshadowing issue.

They believe that the President's appeal of last week with its imputation of selfishness placed on all Republicans and Democrats the burden of the issue, and that the country will have the opposite effect.

Democratic Leaders Anxious.

No campaign ever waged in this country has had such interesting possibilities. The fact is not lost sight of here that another note from Germany may arrive any minute in the midst of the political battle and give new shape to it. There is every evidence of concern among the Democratic leaders over this, though their confidence in the President's ability to handle the situation and in his power and prestige to pull them through appears to be unabated.

The statement of Chairman Hays reflects the thought and judgment of all the Republican leaders in Congress. They take the view, as pointed out to-day by one of them, that it is their patriotic duty to question the Administration's course in the negotiations with Germany, and that the issue presented in these negotiations is paramount to all others at the present time.

The position taken by the Republican Senators is that the danger of a break with the Allies is presented in our present course, as seen in the fact that the German Government is already asserting that the President is acting as a negotiator with the Allies to obtain for Germany a peace of justice.

Nothing could be more unfortunate than this, assert the Republicans, and their purpose, it was said, to make this clear to the country. They insist that the position taken by the Republicans on the peace question is exactly that of Premier Lloyd George and Clemenceau, whereas the opposition elements in these countries appear to be giving the most enthusiastic approval to the President's course.

Distinction Is Made.

The election of a Republican Congress would mean, it is contended, that the peace programme drawn up by the Allies with the unconditional surrender of Germany demanded as the first prerequisite, while a Democratic Congress would mean that in any course he chose to follow the President would be "unembarrassed."

There is a possibility that when the Senate convenes to-morrow the Republican position as stated here will be conciliated more fully, but Republicans were somewhat disposed to let the choice of a Senatorial discussion over the campaign issue now presented, rest with the Democrats. There is every probability that some of the Democratic Senators will insist upon defending the President's action, and this would immediately bring a rejoinder from the Republicans.

As a result of the bill being blown off of political discussion and on account of the peculiar issue involved Republican Senators have decided not to agree to the proposed peace of Congress, at least so far as the upper house is concerned. What the House does they do not care and are willing to give their consent to a peace of that body until November 11, as was originally planned for both branches. The Senate will be held in session partly because they want to have a further political move which the Administration may contemplate in its effort to obtain the reelection of Democratic Senators and Congressmen.

Developments in the political situation showed that the President intended to have his Cabinet further defined by some of his Cabinet officers. Following the telegram of last night urging the election of Gov. Folk in Missouri to the Senate, Secretary McAdoo came out with a more general appeal for "unity of command" in America.

Statement by McAdoo.

The McAdoo statement, the first to be issued by any Cabinet officer, said:

Before America entered the war, the Allies had suffered repeated reverses because there was no unity of command. They were divided among themselves in authority. The first act of the President was to compel a unity of command under Gen. Foch. Ever since that time America and her allies have been winning victories and a triumphant conclusion of the war is in sight as long as unity of command and action is preserved.

Unity of command in Europe must be backed up with unity of command and action in America. The President is our commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States must not have the authority divided in the United States between the Congress on the one hand and himself on the other. We must preserve unity in America if we are to maintain our position on the front and gain the kind of peace for which America fights.

The only way to secure continued unity of command in America is to re-elect a Congress which is willing to support the President fully, and such a Congress must be composed of a majority in full sympathy with his views.

The McAdoo statement, it is said, is to be followed by appeals from other Cabinet officers, all of which are expected to stress the importance of allowing the President to conduct the war unembarrassed.

Continuation of the White House offensive was left to Secretary Joseph P. Tumulty. In a long letter written at President Wilson's direction, to the Chicago County Republican Committee at Cleveland, which had protested in a telegram to the President against the

statement that the election of a Republican Congress would be misunderstood overseas, Mr. Tumulty quoted again the appeals made by Republicans in 1898 for the election of a Republican Congress.

Quotations by Tumulty.

The appeals quoted by Mr. Tumulty were made by Theodore Roosevelt, former President Harrison, Senator Lodge, Senator Penrose and later Senator Foraker. Mr. Tumulty's telegram pointed out that leading Republican newspapers at the time took the same position, not particularly The Sun and the New York Tribune of October 30, 1898, the Philadelphia North American two days earlier and several others.

The first quotation was from Col. Roosevelt, identified as Republican candidate for Governor of New York in 1898. It read:

"Remember that, whether you will or not, your votes this year will be viewed by the nations of Europe from one standpoint only. They will draw no fine distinctions. A refusal to sustain the President this year will in their eyes be read as a refusal to sustain the war and to sustain the efforts of our peace commission to secure the fruits of war. Such a refusal may be inconceivably bringing about a rupture of the peace negotiations. It will give heart to our defeated antagonists. It will make possible the intervention of the Central Powers into this struggle which in this struggle have wished us ill.

"You could get the benefits of the victory of our men only by rejecting Lincoln, and we will gain less than we ought from the war if the Administration is not sustained at these elections."

Former President Harrison was quoted as pleading for the election of a Republican Congress as follows:

"The world goes forth that the people of the United States are standing behind the President the task of the peace commissioners will be easy, but if there is a break in the ranks—if the Democrats score a telling victory, and Democratic Senators, Congressmen and Governors are elected—Spain will see in it a gleam of hope. She will take a new heart and a renewal of hostilities, more war, may be necessary to secure to us what we have already won."

This was quoted from Senator Lodge:

"But there is one question on which I wish to say a few words, and that seems to me to override all others. It is whether we shall stand by the Administration and the President at this juncture, or whether we shall turn our backs on him and support the opposition. We give a victory to his political opponents, we say not only to the United States, but we say to the world, we say to the Spanish Commissioner in Paris, that the people of the United States repudiate his result; repudiate the man who has led victoriously the war and is now leading us back to peace, William McKinley."

Appealed to National Spirit.

Senator Penrose was credited with this: "In his recent speeches the President has appealed not to a partisan but to national spirit. He wants Pennsylvania to remain the Keystone State for the Republican party. It is difficult to overestimate the supreme importance of sustaining the President of the United States and the Republican party at the present critical crisis in our foreign relations."

The following was quoted from former Senator Foraker: "The war came while a Republican administration was in power and must now be settled by that administration. I do not believe any fair minded Democrat would question the fitness of this duty, but, however, it might be otherwise, the work is already in the hands of President McKinley. What he wants is the support of the House of Representatives."

Republican leaders take the position that the situation faced by Lincoln and McKinley was completely different from the position in which President Wilson now is. Chairman Fess (Ohio) of the Republican Congressional campaign committee to-night particularly emphasized this point, showing just how this was true.

"During the civil war," said he, "Lincoln had to fight a disloyal opposition party in Congress all of the time. Of the three big war measures which were essential to winning—the revenue act, the so-called 'legal tender' act and the national bank act—out of all of the Democrats in Congress only one at all voted for these measures."

"Although they knew they were vital to the war the Democrats fought them consistently to the end, and put the crowning touch on their attitude of defeatism and obstruction of the war when in 1864 they nominated McClellan in Chicago on a platform that the war was lost and should be abandoned."

"The situation in 1898 was exactly

the same. McKinley was hampered by a Democratic minority which fought all of his war measures, beginning with the declaration of war, when only six out of 159 Democrats voted for the declaration of war, and followed this attitude right through to the end of the war by voting against supply bills and everything else.

"Both McKinley and Lincoln to insure the wars waged during their administrations reaching victorious conclusions had a real question of obstruction by the Democrats, then in the minority, and had the right to appeal for Republican majorities in Congress. Anything else in view of the position taken by the Democrats meant the inconclusive end of the war."

"President Wilson cannot pretend to have any such reason as that which is the only valid one. In his appeal to have Democrats in the majority in the next Congress he has been forced by the facts to admit openly that Republicans have been loyally pro-war. The entire world is aware of that fact and for that reason the statement that Europe would consider the election of a Republican majority in Congress as a repudiation of President Wilson's conduct of the war cannot be taken seriously."

Another issue was introduced to-night in the fight when the Republican Congressional campaign committee, through Chairman Fess, came out with a statement directly challenging the constitutionality of the President in any way to dictate the composition of Congress.

HAYS DENOUNCES WILSON VOTE PLEA

Continued from First Page.

cratic Congressmen must, as they would, yield in everything. That is evidently his idea—the idea of an autocrat calling himself the servant but bidding for the mastery of this great free people.

Republicans in Congress have seemed to him good enough when they assented as they did assent with high patriotism and sometimes against their best judgment, to his proposals. Republicans at home have seemed to him good enough to send fully a million of their sons into battle, to furnish at least half of the army and far more than half of the money for the winning of the war, but they are not considered good enough to have a voice in the settlement of the war.

Why? Are not their sacrifices as great as others? Have not they as much at stake in the future? Mr. Wilson says he has "no thought of suggesting that any political party is paramount in matters of patriotism," but he does suggest it, and he suggests further that he alone is paramount in intelligence.

Wilson Seeks More Power.

But Mr. Wilson's real purpose has nothing to do with the conduct of the war. He has had that from the beginning, has it now, and nobody dreams of interfering with his control. He wants just two things. One is full power to settle the war precisely as he and his sole, unelected, unappointed, unconfirmed personal adviser may determine. The other is full power as the "unembarrassed" spokesman in affairs at home, as he actually demands in his statement, to reconstruct in peace times the great industrial affairs of the nation in the same way, in unimpeded conformity with whatever socialist doctrines, whatever unlimited government ownership notions, whatever hazy whims may happen to possess him at the time, but and above all with absolute command to free trade with all the world, thus giving to Germany out of hand the fruits of a victory greater than she could win by fighting a hundred years. A Republican Congress will never assent to that. Do you want a Congress that will? Germany does. 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